

9 September 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Morning Meeting of 9 September 1969

The Director opened the meeting by calling attention to a CBS report attributed to Israeli military sources that the Israelis had invaded Egypt. In response to the Director's question DD/P noted that the point of the reported invasion is just south of Suez, and Godfrey commented that this particular area is not suited for tank deployment as reported.

DD/I noted that following yesterday's Morning Meeting he and Godfrey reviewed the 3 July OCI memorandum, "Hanoi's Short-term Intentions," and reported that work is under way to bring this piece up to date.

The Director requested from Godfrey and received a status report on publishing available data on the Brazilians released in exchange for Ambassador Elbrick.

ADD/S reported that he got in touch with Kent Crane to determine the Vice President's availability to appear at the 18 September Annual Awards Ceremony. Crane advised that we should not count on the Vice President, and ADD/S noted that NSA is attempting to have the Vice President visit its facilities in October.

The Director called attention to the item on Ho Chi Minh by Kenneth Crawford in the 15 September issue of Newsweek and contrasted

2  
this piece with the article by Nicholas von Hoffman in yesterday's Washington Post.

25X1 Maury reported that he was unable to see Congressman Rivers yesterday but that he left a note indicating his willingness to brief the Congressman on the [ ] matter.

Maury related that he left our last contribution to S. 782 on the Hill yesterday and observed that the FBI did not wish to become involved in our position.

Maury reported that Senator Cooper has requested a briefing on Soviet/Warsaw Pact matters and that arrangements have been made for Bruce Clarke to undertake the briefing.

Maury related that he and the DD/P would like to see the Director concerning Senator Fulbright's request for information on the situation in Tibet.

Houston related that we have received the full transcript of Article 32/Green Beret testimony and that Mr. Robert Jordan, General Counsel of the Department of the Army, is scheduled to see him here tomorrow. The Director asked that General Cushman sit in on this session.

Bross reported that General Robert Taylor saw General Maxwell Taylor at the latter's initiative and found that the PFIAB/Baker Panel is extremely critical of progress made toward effective Information Handling. Bross added that there is some sentiment arguing for an increased mandate for the Director and outlined efforts to brief General Maxwell Taylor on the scope of the problem.

[ ]

Executive Director related that he saw General Cabell last night and learned that the General has been asked to consult with DOD's "blue-ribbon panel" on reorganization as well as with Robert Froehlke on the

organization of DOD intelligence. In response to the Executive Director's suggestion, the Director asked Bross to get in touch with General Cabell.

25X1

[Redacted]

In response to the Director's question D/ONE noted that there is no written doctrine governing approval/coordination of footnotes in Estimates.

Goodwin noted a request from William Worthy inviting him to brief fifteen fellows of the Fred Douglas Fellowship in Journalism while they are in the Washington area this October and November. After some discussion it was decided that Goodwin will decline the offer.

[Redacted]

L. K. White

nowledges that he is waging an uphill  
t for re-election. "If the election were  
y, I think I'd lose," he said last week,  
t we're changing that." Still, he con-  
ed, "I have a long way to go." For  
at it's worth, the professional odds-  
ers agreed: in Las Vegas, Jimmy  
a Greek) Snyder was quoting Pro-  
ino as the even-money favorite—with  
dsay a 9-to-5 underdog.

## MUCKRAKING:

### Why It Ain't So, Joe

Joseph L. Alioto of San Francisco is  
of the few big-city mayors who  
ed headed for better things. The  
of a Sicilian fisherman, he made his  
ame as an attorney and businessman,  
pt into City Hall as a Democrat in  
S. and has never stopped running  
e. In his first hundred days, he  
arged the city's somnolent patriarchs  
support of ghetto programs; he daz-  
led the town with his personal flamboy-  
e. In less than a year, he was enjoy-  
ing a brief boomlet for the Democratic  
Presidential nomination, delivering  
nominating speech for Hubert Hum-  
ay, and preparing to challenge Ron-  
Reagan for the governorship in 1970.  
n last week, Joe Alioto's soaring  
pects hit a stunning obstacle.

Look magazine charged that His Hon-  
is enmeshed in a web of alliances  
at least six leaders of La Cosa  
stra. He has provided them with bank  
as, legal services, business counsel and  
ortunities, and the protective mantle  
his respectability. In return he has  
ed fees, profits, political support and  
aign contributions." The article al-  
d that Alioto had "personally ar-  
ed" bank loans totaling \$105,000 for  
afioso ex-convict, helped engineer a  
7,000 Small Business Administration  
for an accused Mafia racketeer, and  
self obtained a \$55,000 business loan  
a notorious San Mateo County  
abling czar."

**No Connection:** Alioto promptly struck  
at Look in a \$12.5 million lawsuit,  
ed that he had "ever had any con-  
on, direct or indirect, with Mafia or  
erworld activities of any nature what-  
e," and promised a later "point-by-  
t refutation" of the story. But it might  
every ounce of his boundless energy  
again his political momentum.

Another political figure, this one from  
more distant past, was also suffering  
attentions of magazine muckrakers  
week. Life contended that Roy M.  
n, onetime counsel to Sen. Joseph  
Carthy and more recently a corporate  
eler-dealer, had used personal con-  
tions with FBI officials, including J.  
r Hoover, to punish FBI agents who  
cooperated with Federal officials  
tering a bribery-conspiracy case  
t him. Cohn demanded delay of  
nal because of the "annihilating  
ity but a judge ruled that the trial  
be scheduled on Sept. 23.



## WASHINGTON

### KINDLY UNCLE HO

BY KENNETH CRAWFORD

**H**o Chi Minh's biography reads like  
not very credible fiction. He got  
around, like Lanny Budd, and founded  
a nation, like George Washington. In  
his 79 years, he had been a kitchen  
helper to the celebrated chef Escof-  
fier; he had been one of the founders  
of the French Communist Party, an as-  
sociate of Lenin and Stalin, an inter-  
preter for the Soviet emissary, Boro-  
din, to Chiang Kai-shek, a camp  
follower of Mao Tse-tung's Eighth  
Route Army; he had crossed the Gobi  
Desert in flight to Moscow and talked  
his way out of a British prison in Hong  
Kong; during the last quarter-century,  
his guerrillas had helped eject the  
Japanese from his native Vietnam,  
beaten the French, and, when ele-  
vated to the status of a government,  
stood off the combined forces of the  
South Vietnamese and Americans.

Yet he was so frail, so benign-look-  
ing with his chin whiskers and pallor,  
so enthusiastic a baby-kisser when in  
public, that he was Uncle Ho not only  
to his North Vietnamese friends but to  
many of his South Vietnamese ene-  
mies. His appearance could not have  
been more deceptive. He was a so-  
phisticated, ruthless political organizer  
who could defy the world in several  
languages, including English, and who  
was capable of ordering purges com-  
parable with Stalin's. He sacrificed  
thousands of lives by execution and  
millions in battle to his dream of unit-  
ing the countries formerly Indochina  
—North and South Vietnam, Cambo-  
dia and Laos—under his own Commu-  
nist dictatorship.

## OBJECTIVE

Whether he was more nationalist  
than Communist, as those who favored  
his appeasement always contended, is  
irrelevant. His objective was national-  
istic but his method was Communistic.  
Like Lenin, he believed in jettisoning  
his nationalist followers if they reject-  
ed his Communism. At the time of his  
take-over of the north, after the battle  
of Dienbienphu, Ho executed 50,000  
fellow countrymen suspected of lack  
of sympathy with his regime and con-  
demned another 100,000 to forced la-  
bor, according to estimates made by  
the late Bernard Fall, a not unsympa-  
thetic Ho biographer. Years later,  
Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, now Defense  
Minister, confessed in a speech that  
the Ho forces had "executed too many  
which became too widespread." Ho

himself once came close to admitting  
excessive suppression.

But there is no evidence that the  
North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong  
guerrillas have mended their ways.  
Terrorization of civilian populations,  
even rather friendly populations, is  
still standard operating procedure for  
them. The experience of Hué, the  
former imperial capital, is proof of  
this, if any were needed. During the  
Tet offensive of 1968, Hué was occu-  
pied by invaders from the north for  
about a month. During that period,  
some 3,500 persons were executed or  
killed and 1,000 were abducted. Al-  
most 1,200 bodies were found in mass  
graves in and around the city. Some  
had been buried alive; others had  
been shot in the back of the neck; al-  
most all were bound. Schoolteachers,  
other professionals and local function-  
aries, many of them either neutral or  
fairly sympathetic to Hanoi, were the  
favorite victims of methodically sadis-  
tic executioners.

## VACUUM

Radio Hanoi, far from denying this  
massacre, taunted the committee or-  
ganized to exhume and rebury the  
victims, who were, said the official  
broadcaster, "hooligan lackeys who  
had incurred blood debts" and who  
were therefore "annihilated by the  
southern armed forces and people."

Nine representatives of the Citizens  
Committee for Peace with Freedom  
in Vietnam, which was organized by  
former Sen. Paul Douglas, the late  
Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry  
Truman, among others, recently inves-  
tigated the Hué horror along with oth-  
er recent developments in the war  
zone. As a result, the committee is  
urging President Nixon to reduce  
American forces in Vietnam gradually,  
gearing his schedule to the demon-  
strated ability of the South Vietnam-  
ese to prevent future Hués. The com-  
mittee discovered, incidentally, that  
Hué, which used to hold itself aloof  
from the war, now supports Saigon  
with zealous dedication.

What effect Ho's death will have on  
the tactics and strategy of his succes-  
sors is unpredictable. None of them  
has anything like his avuncular image  
and prestige. There will be a vacuum.  
For Uncle Ho, like Uncle Joe, was a  
genius—an evil genius by democratic  
lights. Both were Marxians in their  
ideals, but the dark side of their  
Khan in their methodology.

Poster

# Ho's Death: 'So It Goes'

By Nicholas von Hoffman

When during a war the leader of one side dies, it's customary for the other side to cheer. With the passing of Uncle Ho our cheering has been ragged and hesitating.

Here in the homeland of Uncle Ho's most powerful and dedicated enemies, even here his obituaries have been tintured with praise and admiration. You get the feeling that the people who hated him because he was a Communist would have traded Uncle Ho for Thieu, Ky, Diem and several boatloads of the more important corruptionists, dope smugglers, double agents, deserters and liberty lovers allied with us.

Uncle Ho alone appears to have come out of the war with his reputation. In death he seems the one outstanding man the war has produced. This curiously popular head of an enemy country has even had his communism explained away. "He turned to communism as a means—not an end—to achieve his lifelong goal of freedom and unity for his homeland," said the lead editorial in The New York Times.

The pro Uncle Ho sentiment has been so strong that the other night on NBC Chet Huntley had to remind us not to be carried away. The old man had killed a lot of innocent people, he said, but the same has been said of the American Presidents involved in Vietnam.

Our reaction to these massacres is like Kurt Vonnegut's in his novel, *Slaughterhouse-Five*: "So it goes," he says, because if you meditate on all the death and dying you'll go crazy, the facts'll burn out the eyes of your mind. Uncle Ho killed a lot of people. So it goes. A boy driven mad by the war blows his brains out on the Capitol steps. So it goes.

It was said against Uncle Ho that he was a professional revolutionary. The United States has its professional revolutionaries too. Men like Allen Dulles and Richard Helms, the CIA bosses who differ from Uncle Ho in that he wanted to commit a revolution in his own country while they want to do it in other people's. Uncle Ho was involved in politics so he did what people in that line of work do; what made him different from our bunch were his reasons, or thus it seems, because really we don't know much about him.

We're not even sure what his real name was or if he ever got married. We have some black and white newsreel footage, some snapshots, a couple of old police dossiers; we know he was a good cook and a heavy cigarette smoker who made it to 79. Salems were his brand . . . Oh, you can get the war out of the Americans, but you can't get the war out of the Americans. But Ho was probably the only one who was not. Approved For Release 2005/11/23 : CIA-RDP80R01284A001800120079-9  
 to old advertising jingles

Maybe if we'd known Uncle Ho better we might not have regarded him with as much respect. The little glimpses make him so attractive. Imagine, a bandy-legged wog, renting a Sunday suit to go out to Versailles to present Wilson and Clemenceau with a petition asking that his distant, little colony be granted self-determination . . . and years later Uncle Ho still living like a poor man, wearing sandals cut from old automobile tires. There may have been a mean side to him but we never heard about that. We're left with these brief pictures to match up against our leading men.

Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador to Vietnam and possessor of a good tailor, back in Washington for consultations as they say, his old eyelids sagging down to make drooping, mysterious triangles of his eyes, murmuring he didn't think he wanted to comment on the repercussions of Uncle Ho's death.

Presidents on airport runways in front of microphones, silvery Air Force One in the background so behind them you can read THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and you can hear the words, Presidential words, susceptible of many interpretations by American watchers and White House-ologists from the other side of the iron curtain, peace, commitments, honor, face, freedom, treaties, solemnly pledged, bombing, war.

Or the generals, Westmoreland, handsome nonwinner, all jaw and gold braid, Chapman ordering the black and white Marines to stop killing each other and get back to killing the Vietnamese (so it goes), and Hershey, doughty 75-year-old conqueror of ten thousand squeamish liberals, givin' it to the kids and telling them what an honor it is.

The kids went for Uncle Ho. "Ho! Ho! Ho Chi Minh!" they'd chant at the big rallies to end the war against him. Recently they haven't been chanting so much. General Hershey's been coming down on them heavy and they've had to spend their energy escaping. All over the country, a million bull sessions about that. Don't get busted for pot in Illinois because they've changed the law so it's only a misdemeanor now and a misdemeanor won't keep you out.

It's gotta be a felony. Steal a car, that's good if it's grand theft auto, but joy riding won't keep you out of anything. Be a teacher or a cop or a fag. Get a sympathetic draft board. Cut off a toe. There's lots of nine-toed guys who don't have any trouble hitting on chicks. You can wear shoes. What chick's going to count your toes? I know but I can't do it. Once I put my foot on the kitchen table and I had the cleaver in my hand, but, man, it was my toe, my toe, man. So get married. Have a dependent. Adopt a baby or a sick, old mother.

The kids never blamed Uncle Ho for causing General Hershey to draft so many of them. That was strange but people never were able to work up a good hate against him. Wall Street didn't blame him for the market's not cracking 1,000 on the Dow-Jones. Remember this was the year it was going to happen? The old people didn't blame him for the inflation. Strange. Strange too, thinking about a truce in a war to mourn the other side's leader. The Americans didn't do that for Hitler. The Germans didn't do that for Roosevelt.

Uncle Ho did that to this war, drained our side of righteousness, left us nothing but the fine print and the technicalities. He had a monopoly on the big phrases, the words you put on banners, so we fought for some sentences written by lawyers and printed in agate type and cheered ourselves on with the thought we have a fine professional army doing the job it was sent out there to do.

continued

Now maybe we'll get a few of the slogans back and a little of the old enthusiasm. Ho had it, but they can't keep it in Hanoi because he's gone, dead, dead like so many others over there are dead. So it goes.